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The War

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL AND PREMIER STALIN AT TEHRAN

Declaration of the Three Powers

[Released to the press by the White House December 6]

We—The President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met these four days past, in this, the Capital of our Ally, Iran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow.

As to war—our military staffs have joined in our round table discussions, and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations to be undertaken from the east, west and south.

The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to peace—we are sure that our concord will win an enduring Peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming

mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our Diplomatic advisors we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of Democratic Nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U Boats by sea, and their war plants from the air.

Our attack will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives, untouched by tyranny, and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL AND STALIN

Signed at Tehran, December 1, 1943

Declaration Regarding Iran

The following communiqué, dated December first, was issued in Tehran December 6 after the three-power meeting:¹

¹Text as cabled from Tehran.

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and

with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. The three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States of America,

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of the other members of the United Nations by conferences or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran together with all other peace-loving nations in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four governments have continued to subscribe.

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press December 6]

The conferences of the Chiefs of Government at Cairo and Tehran have naturally attracted keen and universal attention because of the wide-spread importance and significance of the discussions and decisions. At both of these conferences military plans were concerted for the destruction of Axis forces on all fronts. It should be welcome news to all the United Nations that in the European theater complete

agreement has been reached "as to the scope and timing of the operations to be undertaken from the east, west and south". These concerted plans will undoubtedly result in making effective to the fullest extent the fighting strength of all the United Nations. The meetings of the Chiefs of State have further cemented the friendship and cooperation between our respective countries and assure their fullest possible collaboration.

Return Journey of President Roosevelt

[Released to the press by the White House December 11]

President Roosevelt rode homeward by air from his highly successful Middle East meetings with Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, Turkish President Inonu, and Gen-

eralissimo Chiang Kai-shek¹ over the desert route upon which General Sir Harold Alexander and his British Eighth Army started the final Nazi rout from Africa.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1943, p. 393.

El Alamein, the salt marshes of the Qattara Depression, Tobruk, Bengazi, Tripoli, Tunis—all grim points in the see-saw battle of the African desert—constituted landmarks for the presidential air entourage on the home run from Cairo.

By direction of his main passenger, Maj. Otis Bryan flew the huge four-motored C-54 of the Air Transport Command low over the bloody wastes of the desolate 1,500-mile battleground.

It was but a few minutes' flight from Cairo's famed Pyramids, almost at the base of which momentous military decisions had been reached to deal a death-blow to Germany and Japan, before Mr. Roosevelt's plane hovered over the point of Rommel's ultimate threat to Egypt and the vital Suez Canal.

This was El Alamein, where the British Eighth dug in to save Cairo and Alexandria and later to launch the dazzling offensive that coincided with the American landing in North Africa to trap the Nazis in a costly and final collapse in Tunisia.

As President Roosevelt gazed intently from his plane window at this turning-point of the war there came to his view to the south the Qattara Depression. It was this great marsh and the crazy-quilt of desert tracks over which American Sherman tanks, German Mark Fours, and other military vehicles had ebbed and flowed. Innumerable shell and bomb craters and slit trenches were discernible on the barren, dust-clouded waste. The Chief Executive brought his acute knowledge of geography to bear and predicted almost to the minute when his plane would pass over Tobruk, that sand-spitted harbor which changed hands so many times. From the air it appeared pitifully small and arid to have proved such a vital point in the African campaign.

Off to the "starboard", as the President put it, lay the lazy, blue Mediterranean, overcast by a dim haze. Watchful fighter planes darted constantly around the three-plane formation of the presidential party, ever mindful of a possible enemy threat to their important charge.

The desert panorama gave President Roosevelt a graphic impression of the bitter hardships overcome by the British, Australians, and New Zealanders in turning back the Nazi "Desert Fox". He commented on the fortitude and determination of the men who battled across this vast area of sand and desolation.

Next came Bengazi, another local point that will live in the history of this war. Major Bryan circled the congested town at an altitude of 4,000 feet so the President could better view its break-water harbor.

Continuing on a line with the North African Coast, the presidential flight proceeded to Tripoli. It was the capture of this major Axis stronghold, the President reminded his plane mates, that finally broke the back of German resistance. Damage had been neatly repaired but from a bird's-eye view it seemed there had been some damage done to the general terrain.

Real evidence of the devastation accomplished by the Anglo-American forces came, however, when the Roosevelt plane circled Tunis and Cape Bon at low altitude. It was from Cape Bon that the Nazis made their futile effort to escape. The harbor of Tunis was fronted by completely leveled blocks, result of Allied bombing and shelling, and retreating German destruction. Heartening sight was the number of Nazi aircraft, shot down or destroyed on the ground, that littered the airfield and the adjacent countryside.

"Somebody seems to have been doing a rather grand job", observed the President as he caught a fast view of the wrecked Heinkels, Messerschmitts, and Junkers.

(NOTE: The above dispatch was received from Maj. George E. Durno, a member of the President's party.)

[Released to the press by the White House December 11]

President Roosevelt spent 48 hours as the guest of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower on his way home from the Cairo-Tehran Conferences, taking advantage of that opportunity to acquaint the North African Allied Commander in Chief with details of the grand Mediterranean strat-

egy determined upon in collaboration with Prime Minister Churchill and the combined British-American staffs.

General Eisenhower met the Chief Executive at a Tunis airport, but their informal conferences actually took place in adjoining Carthage. Mr. Roosevelt was quartered in a large villa facing out over the Mediterranean toward Cape Bon, and aptly called "The White House". The villa had been erected on the ruins of the ancient city which figured so large in early Roman history.

This was not the first meeting between the two in Africa. On his way to Cairo and Tehran for the full-dress war meetings with Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the President was met at Oran and accompanied to Tunis by General Eisenhower. Next, in the midst of the conference at the base of the Pyramids, Mr. Roosevelt dispatched a plane to Allied Headquarters to bring the General to Cairo.

It was upon this background that Mr. Roosevelt constructed a final and complete picture for General Eisenhower at Carthage, apprising him of the myriad details agreed upon by the joint staff to make possible execution of the new over-all strategy.

In constant attendance on General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Walter "Beedle" Smith. Also sitting in was Lt. Gen.

Carl "Tonhy" Spaatz, Commanding General of the Northwest African Air Force.

Lover of history that he is, Mr. Roosevelt took particular pleasure in his sojourn at Carthage, regaling members of his party with stories of the turbulent existence of the city which was in full flower in the year 814 B. C.

From the presidential villa, the ruins of the amphitheater, the cells of the Christians, and the pits of the lions were still discernible. A few hundred yards south of the amphitheater could be seen the foundations of the "Spina", or wall around which the chariot races used to be run. Also close by were the remains of the Roman theater where actors, conjurors, and acrobats entertained the Romans before the time of Christ.

The Nazis had occupied the "White House" villa before the British Eighth and First Armies and the American Second Corps converged to capture them at the base of Cape Bon. With their retreat the Nazis stripped the villa of its furnishings. With furniture at a high premium in North Africa, the American Command was hard put to restore the villa as a livable place for just such occasions as the presidential visit. The huge central hallway was rather barren, and other rooms contained a minimum of furnishings.

(NOTE: The above dispatch was received from Maj. George E. Durno, a member of the President's party.)

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL, AND PRESIDENT INONU OF TURKEY AT CAIRO

The following communiqué was issued December 7 in Cairo:¹

Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States; M. Ismet Inonu, President of the Turkish Republic; and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, met in Cairo on December 4, 5, and 6, 1943. Anthony Eden, His Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs; Numan Menemencioglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Turkey; and Harry Hopkins took part in their deliberations. Participation in this conference of the head of the Turkish state in response to a cordial invitation addressed to him by the United States, the British and the Soviet Governments bears striking testimony to the strength of the alliance which unites Great Britain and Turkey

¹ Text as cabled from Cairo.

and to the firm friendship existing between the Turkish people and the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Presidents Roosevelt and Inonu and Prime Minister Churchill reviewed the general political situation and examined at length the policy to be followed, taking into account the joint and several interests of the three countries. A study of all the problems in a spirit of understanding and loyalty showed that the closest unity existed between the United States of America, Turkey and Great Britain in their attitude to the world situation. The conversations in Cairo consequently have been most useful and most fruitful for the future of the relations between the four countries concerned. The identity of interests and of views of the great American and British democracies with those of the Soviet Union, as also the traditional relations of friendship existing between these three powers and Turkey, have been reaffirmed throughout the proceedings of the Cairo conference.

DECLARATION OF WAR BY BOLIVIA AGAINST THE AXIS POWERS

[Released to the press December 6]

On December 6 the Bolivian Ambassador informed the Department of State officially of the promulgation by his Government on December 4, 1943 of a decree formally declaring that Bolivia is at war with the Axis powers, basing this action on the approval by the Bolivian Congress on November 26, 1943 of Bolivia's adherence to the Declaration by United Nations. The Bolivian Ambassador further informed the Department that the action of the Bolivian Congress sanctioned the Bolivian decree of April 7, 1943 by which a state of war was declared to exist between Bolivia and the Axis powers, and under which the Bolivian Government adhered to the United Nations Declaration.

This Government received with gratification the notification of this latest step on the part of Bolivia.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF DECLARATIONS OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BY BULGARIA, HUNGARY, AND RUMANIA

[Released to the press December 11]

The Secretary of State made the following statement:

"It is just two years since the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, having already become servile puppets of Hitler, obedient to the orders of their master, declared war against the United States. To what degree they have been counting on our magnanimity to spare their peoples the consequences of this rash step foredoomed to disaster we do not know. The fact is that whatever may be the sentiments of their peoples, the governments in power in these three countries have recklessly continued their participation in the war against us, strengthening with men and material resources the Nazi war-machine. They must by this time realize that they will have to share the responsibility for and consequences of the terrible defeat that United Nations arms are so surely bringing to Nazi Germany."

CAPTURE OF PRIZES ON THE HIGH SEAS

By a proclamation dated November 28, 1943 (no. 2601) the President extended to the Government of India "privileges with respect to prizes captured under authority of the said Government and brought into the territorial waters of the United States or taken or appropriated in the territorial waters of the United States for the use of the said Government", India having already consented to like treatment for prizes of the United States. The full text of the proclamation appears in the *Federal Register* of December 7, 1943, page 16351.

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH C. GREW AT ST. THOMAS' CHURCH, NEW YORK¹

[Released to the press December 5]

This is essentially a service of rededication—rededication of the tenders of the flame. I use that term because it was used by one of our young naval fliers in a letter to friends at home shortly before he was lost in the battle of Midway. "You will, I know", he wrote, "do all in your power to help others keep the faith. My luck can't last much longer. But the flame goes on, and only that is important." We on the home-front are the keepers of the faith, the tenders of the flame, and from time to time it is well to rededicate ourselves to that high privilege and duty—the duty of supporting and aiding in every conceivable way, directly and indirectly, those guardians of our country on the battle-fronts and their families at home. That is the essential part of *our* war effort. That is the fundamental purpose of the members of this eager, patriotic, and public-spirited organization "Bundles for America". They are tenders of the flame.

I wonder if our defenders on the far-flung battle lines realize the thrills of pride which we on the home-front experience on reading daily the stories of the combined and individual heroism of our soldiers and sailors, our airmen and marines, and their allies, from Italy to the Gilbert Islands and from China to the skies over Berlin. Perhaps we can only dimly picture to ourselves the trials through which they have passed and are passing, but one truth they have written for us in fiery letters for all to see, to wit: "Our love of freedom and our determination to protect that freedom can never fail. The old spirit of the bridge at Concord and of St. Mihiel and the Argonne is alive and

flaming today. We have but one watchword: 'Victory—unequivocal and complete!'"

A month ago we passed an anniversary of solemn and significant memory—the Armistice of 1918. How well I remember that day in Paris! Guns booming, bells pealing, the people of Paris in the streets laughing and weeping, singing and dancing. The war to end wars was over. Thenceforth we were to emerge from battle to a bright new world, a world of peace on earth, good-will toward men. And then, what happened? We in America and people elsewhere quite simply got into bed and pulled the covers over our heads, unwilling to see what was going on about us, asleep to actualities. And now, once again the world is drenched in blood.

Shall we make that grim mistake again? I do not believe so. Human nature may not change much through the ages, but at least mankind learns something from experience, and I believe that we in our country have learned that in this modern world of ours—in which the nations, through developments in communications and transit, have been drawn into inevitable intimacy—isolation has become an anachronism. We cannot kill the seeds of war, for they are buried deep in human nature. But what we can do and I am convinced we shall do is precisely what we did in permanently stamping out yellow fever from our country—remove the conditions under which those seeds of war can germinate anywhere in the world. It can be done and it must be done.

Once victory is achieved, the guilty leaders among our enemies and those individuals responsible for the barbarous acts of crime and senseless cruelties that have been committed under the cloak of war must and shall be punished, and just retribution must and shall be meted out to the enemy countries so that the people of those countries shall be forever cured

¹ Delivered Dec. 5, 1943 at the Evensong Service for "Bundles for America". Mr. Grew, formerly American Ambassador to Japan, is now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

of the illusion that aggression pays. Their false philosophy can never be discredited until the results are brought home to them in defeat, humiliation, and bitter loss. Measures must and shall be taken to prevent that cancer of aggressive militarism from digging in underground, once again to rear itself in magignant evil and once again to overrun the world, calling upon our sons and grandsons to fight this dreadful war over again in the next generation. Let us assure our defenders on the battle-fronts that this time their heroism shall forever finish the job begun in 1914.

But those self-evident measures will not be enough. In approaching the eventual peace tables, we shall need the highest qualities of far-sighted statesmanship. We must abandon all promptings of vindictiveness or of pride and prejudice.

First we must clear away the poisonous growth in order to lay the foundations for the erection of an invulnerable and enduring world edifice. Two great cornerstones for that foundation have already been swung into place. One was the Atlantic Charter; the second was the Moscow agreement. Others will follow.

And then we must build. Re-education in certain areas will become essential. I visualize a helpful, cooperative, common-sense spirit in conducting that system of re-education, devoid of browbeating or vindictiveness, with emphasis upon what our enemies will have to gain by playing the game with the rest of the world and what they would lose by recalcitrance. The healthy growth must ultimately come from within. When our enemies find that in cooperation lies their only hope of salvation, they will cooperate.

Weariness of the sufferings of war will work in our favor. We do not want festering sores anywhere in our future world for the building of which we and our Allies are fighting and striving today. We do not want the nursing of grudges, rebelliousness and bitterness. We want the people of the world, including our

present enemies, to look forward, not back, and to look forward not to the day when they can achieve revenge but forward to a peaceful, lawful, cooperative, solvent, productive, and prosperous national and international life, purged forever of the poison of aggressive militarism. That should be our aim. That should be the ultimate goal of far-sighted statesmanship and that should be the guiding spirit at the peace tables. We shall need the wisdom of Solomon in approaching those eventual problems. Pray God that we may find it.

Thus may our defenders on the battle lines know that they are not fighting or dying in vain. Thus may they know that we on the home-front are not only with joyful determination supporting them through the war until total victory is achieved but that we pledge to them our inexorable determination to carry that support into the post-war world, where the final monument to their heroism shall be the creation of a permanent international structure based on the principles of law, liberty, justice, and peace.

APPOINTMENT OF CHARLES WARREN AS MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD

[Released to the press by the White House December 6]

The White House announced on December 6 the appointment by the President of the former Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Charles Warren, of the District of Columbia, to membership on the President's War Relief Control Board to fill the vacancy created by the death of Dean Frederick P. Keppel. The other members of the Board are Mr. Joseph E. Davies, Chairman, and Mr. Charles P. Taft.

The President's War Relief Control Board has been in existence for two and a half years and has been charged with the responsibility of coordinating various war-relief agencies in the field of private charitable solicitation.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Letter of the Secretary of State to the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

DECEMBER 7, 1943.

MY DEAR MR. BLOOM:

I understand that H. J. Res. 192, a bill to authorize appropriations to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, is now before your Committee. I wish to endorse this Bill and strongly commend it to the favorable consideration of the Committee.

The UNRRA Agreement itself was carefully worked out after consultations with members of Congress, and especially with the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees. This Agreement, as you know, was signed on November 9 and the first meeting of the UNRRA Council was held at Atlantic City. The Council elected a distinguished American, the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, to be Director General of the Administration. It laid the groundwork for the organization of UNRRA and adopted sound and useful resolutions on the policies which it should follow. It now remains for this organization to begin its important operations. All the forty-four United and Associated Nations are joining in its work and I know that Congress will wish the United States to play its proper part. As the President said,

"... it is hard for us to grasp the magnitude of the needs in occupied countries.

"The Germans and the Japanese have carried on their campaigns of plunder and destruction with one purpose in mind: that in the lands they occupy there shall be left only a generation of half-men—undernourished, crushed in body and spirit, without strength or incentive to hope—ready, in fact, to be enslaved and used as beasts of burden by the self-styled master races.

"The occupied countries have been robbed of their foodstuffs and raw materials, and even of

the agricultural and industrial machinery upon which their workers must depend for employment. The Germans have been planning systematically to make the other countries economic vassals, utterly dependent upon and completely subservient to the Nazi tyrants. . . .

"It is not only humane and charitable for the United Nations to supply medicine, food and other necessities to the peoples freed from Axis control; it is a clear matter of enlightened self-interest and of military strategic necessity."

The broad plans growing out of the Moscow Conference, which Congress has so warmly endorsed, will need the work of this great organization to ensure, in the words of the Four-Nation Declaration, "a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace" so that we may proceed to our announced purpose of "maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments."

It is as essential to be prepared for the emergency which will follow the end of the war as it is to be prepared for the great operations which will bring the victorious peace. This organization must begin its work close upon the heels of the armies of the United Nations, not only to assure that the liberated peoples will live and be strengthened for the tasks of peace, but to assure that the end of the fighting brings peace and not disorganization and further conflict. An instrument of great promise has been forged for this purpose by all the United and Associated Nations. That instrument is ready; the task is imminent. I earnestly recommend that the Congress authorize the funds for full and effective participation by this country.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

General

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

[Released to the press December 11]

Vice Admiral William A. Glassford, Personal Representative of the President at Dakar, has been designated by the President as his Special Representative with the rank of Ambassador to attend the inauguration at Monrovia of Mr. W. V. S. Tubman as President of Liberia on January 3, 1944.

Cultural Relations

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press December 8]

Dr. Enrique Rodríguez Fabregat, of Uruguay, has been awarded a grant enabling him to travel in the United States. Dr. Rodríguez Fabregat, Minister of Justice and Public Instruction of Uruguay between 1927 and 1930, is an historian of continental reputation. In 1942 he won the Ecuadoran contest for the best book on the Amazon River with his work *The Epic of the Amazon River*. In 1943, his *Battle y Ordoñez, the Reformer* won the Grand Literary Prize in Uruguay. Other works include a study of the São Paulo pioneers of the seventeenth century and writings on child welfare. Dr. Rodríguez Fabregat has held professorial positions both in Uruguay and in Brazil.

While in the United States, Dr. Rodríguez Fabregat will study the bases of inter-American solidarity as revealed in the lives and works of Spanish-American leaders of the period 1810-50. He also plans to make a study of the life and ideals of Abraham Lincoln whom he considers "the greatest exponent of democracy to be produced in the Americas".

Treaty Information

MILITARY MISSIONS

Agreement With Paraguay

[Released to the press December 10]

In conformity with the request of the Government of Paraguay, there was signed on December 10, 1943 by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Celso R. Velázquez, Ambassador of Paraguay in Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military mission by the United States to serve in Paraguay.

The agreement will continue in force for four years from the date of signature, but may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Paraguay.

The agreement contains provisions similar in general to provisions contained in agreements between the United States and certain other American republics providing for the detail of officers of the United States Army or Navy to advise the armed forces of those countries.

It will be recalled that on October 27 a similar agreement for the detail of a military aviation mission was signed by the Acting Secretary of State and the Paraguayan Ambassador. The present agreement relates to the giving of instruction in military science other than aviation.

Legislation

The Alaska Highway. S. Rept. 548, 78th Cong., on S. Res. 161. 18 pp.

Coat of Arms of Swiss Confederation. S. Rept. 561, 78th Cong., on S. 470. 1 p.

Implementing the Jurisdiction of Service Courts of Friendly Foreign Forces. H. Rept. 936, 78th Cong., on H.R. 3241. [Includes letter from Secretary of State explaining the need for the bill.] 5 pp.